

The Book of the Cure of Souls

By A. J. ARBERRY

IN a former number of this journal I published a specimen translation of one of the *Rasā'il* of Junayd, as an announcement of my intention to make that famous personage the subject of a monograph.¹ It will be useful at this stage to print the text and translation of what is one of the most interesting of the little treatises preserved in the Istanbul manuscript, both because of its contents, and also for the reason that it is the only work of Junayd for which we have a second authority.² It is unfortunately true that the Istanbul manuscript, as the copyist himself is at pains to admit,³ is derived from a very faulty archetype, and with such an author as Junayd the work of emendation is necessarily attended with countless pitfalls. The Cairo manuscript of the *Kitāb Dawā' al-arwāḥ* exhibits roughly ninety variants as compared with the Istanbul manuscript, in the space of rather less than 2½ folios.⁴ In by far the majority of places the Istanbul manuscript appears to be the more correct.

The present opuscle is in reality a meditation on the theme of the vision, or perhaps more properly, the knowledge⁵ of God. The author takes a handful of Qur'anic passages in which God is spoken of as appearing—to Muḥammad, or to Moses—and by applying the principle of *istinbāt*⁶ indicates their significance for the Ṣūfī in his dealings with God. He concludes with a meditation on the familiar theme, "the true Ṣūfī." The whole work is well knit together, and forms a separate and independent treatise.⁷

¹ *JRAS.* July, 1935, pp. 499-507.

² In the text, C = Cairo *majāmī'*, 75; I = Istanbul Şehid Ali, 1374.

³ On fols. 57b, 60b.

⁴ Equally striking divergences are exhibited by the *Kitāb al-Luma'* in those passages which are common to it and the Istanbul MS.

⁵ For the "vision" of God, literally understood, is a conception abhorrent to orthodoxy.

⁶ Cf. Massignon, *Essai*, p. 28, n. 2.

⁷ A similar meditation on a Qur'anic passage occurs on fols. 58-9 of the Istanbul MS.

كتاب دواء الأرواح

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.¹ الحمد لله الذى أبان بواضح
البرهان، لأهل المعرفة والبيان، ما خصّهم² به فى قديم القِدم
قبل كون القبل حين لا حين ولا حيث ولا كيف ولا
أين،³ ولا لا حين ولا لا حيث ولا لا كيف ولا لا أين،³
أن جعلهم أهلاً لتوحيده، وإفراد تجريده، الذاتية عن
ادعاء⁴ إدراك تحديده،، مصطنعين لنفسه مصنوعين⁵ على
عينه⁶ ألقى عليهم⁶ محبةً منه له،⁷ وَأَصْطَنَعْتُكَ لِنَفْسِي (xx, 43)
وَلِتُصْنَعَ عَلَى عَيْنِي (xx, 40) وَأَلْقَيْتُ عَلَيْكَ مَحَبَّةً مِنِّي
(xx, 39) فأحد⁸ أوصاف مَنْ صنعه لنفسه والمصنوع على عينه
والملقى عليه محبته منه له أن لا تستقر⁹ له قدم¹⁰ علم على
مكان ولا موافقة عقل على استقرار فهم ولا مناظرة عزم على
تنفيذ¹¹ هم،¹² هم الذين جرت بهم المعرفة حيث¹³ لا جرى
بهم العلم الى لا نهاية غاية،¹⁴ خنسّت العقول وبارت الأذهان
وانحصرت¹⁵ المعارف وانقرضت الدهور وتاهت الحيرة فى

١ O آء + I رب وفق للاتمام C + وبه الاعانة
٢ O - O - O اخصهم
٣ O - O واخذ C - C والملقى عليه C والمصنوع
٤ O - O غاية I + C بجيت C وهم I تنفيذ C يستقر
٥ I وانحصرت

الحيرة عند نمت أول قَدَمٍ ثقلت لمواقفة¹ وصف محلّ لمحبة²
 ممّا جرت عليهم³ به العلوم التي جعلها لهم⁴ به له.
 هيئات ذاك⁵ له ما له به عنده فأين تذهبون (lxxxi, 26)،
 أما سمعت علم طيه⁶ لما أبداه، وكشفه لما واره، واختصاصه
 لسرّ الوحي لمن اصطفاه، أوحى إلى عبده ما أوحى ما كذب
 الفؤاد ما رأى (liii, 10-11) بِالْأَفْقِ الْأَعْلَى (liii, 8)، شهد
 له أنه عبده وحده، لم يُجر عليه استعباد الفيرة⁷ بخفى⁸ ميل
 همة ولا إلام شهوة ولا محادثة نظرة ولا معارضة خطرة
 C, 24 ولا سبق حقّ بلفظة | ولا سبق أهل الحقّ بنطقة ولا رؤية
 حظّ بلمحة، أوحى⁹ إليه حينئذ ما أوحى (liii, 10) هَيَّأَ
 لفهم ما أولاه بما به تولاه واجتباها لأمرٍ فحمل ما حمل
 I, 53 (xxiv, 53) حمل، أوحى إليه حينئذ ما أوحى | بِالْأَفْقِ
 الْأَعْلَى، ضاقت الأماكن وخست المصنوعات عن أن
 يجرى فيها أو عليها وحنى ما أوتى إلا¹⁰ بِالْأَفْقِ الْأَعْلَى
 (liii, 8) إِذْ يَفْشَى السِّدْرَةَ مَا يَفْشَى (liii, 16)، نظر من
 جلال نظره من غير منظوره الى السدرة حيث غشاها ما

١ ظنه ٢ ذلك ٣ بذه ٤ - ٥ فا ٦ الموافقة ٧
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غشى فثبت لما غشاها. وأنظر¹ الى الجبل حيث¹ تجلّى له¹
 جعله² ذكّا وخرّ موسى صعيّاً فلمّا أفلق قال سُبْحَانَكَ
 بُتُّ إِلَيْكَ (vii, 139-140) أن³ أعود لمسألتك الرؤية بعد
 هذا المقام الى إكباره⁴ ما فرط من سؤاله وإلى⁵ أن العلم
 لو صادف حقيقة⁶ في⁷ وقت المسألة لم يكن القول سائغاً
 يليق به، وفي هذا المكان علم⁸ ليس حقه الرسم ولا يليق⁸
 الكتب.⁹ وأنظر⁹ الى إخباره عن حبيبه¹⁰ وَلَقَدْ رَأَاهُ نَزْلَةً
 أُخْرِى عِنْدَ سِدْرَةِ الْمُتَهَى (liii, 13) والعند¹¹ هاهنا لا يقتضى
 مكاناً إنّما يقتضى وقت كشف علم الوقت، فأنظر الى
 فضل الوقتين ومختلف المكانين وفرق ما بين المنزلتين
 فى العلوّ والدنوّ، وكذلك فضلت عقول¹² المؤمنين من
 العارفين فيها¹³ ما يطيق خطاب المناجاة مع علم قرب من
 نجاه وأدناه فلا يستره¹⁴ فى الدنوّ علم الدنوّ ولا فى العلوّ
 علم العلوّ، ومنها ما لا يطيق ذلك فيجعل الأسباب هى
 المؤدية اليه الفهم¹⁵ وبها يستدرك فهم الخطاب فيكون منه
 الجواب، ولا تقف عند قوله وما كان لبشر أن يكلمه

1-1 I - 2 لجلاله I + 3 انى C 4 اكثاره C 5 C -
 6 C + صلى الله 10 C + الكتم 9 C + 7 C - 8 به C + 9 حقيقته I marg.
 11 المقيد C 12 C - 13 منها C 14 ستره C 15 C -
 عليه وسلم

اللَّهُ إِلَّا وَحْيًا أَوْ مِنْ وَرَاءَ حِجَابٍ أَوْ يُرْسِلُ رُسُلًا
 فَيُوحِي بِإِذْنِهِ مَا يَشَاءُ (xlii, 50). وهذه أماكن يضيق
 بسط العلم فيها إِلَّا عند المفاوضة لأهل المجاورة وفي¹
 الاشتغال بعلم مسالك الطرق المؤدية إلى علوم أهل C, 25
 الخالصة الذين خلوا من خلواتهم، وبرئوا² من إراداتهم،
 وحيل بينهم وبين ما يشتتهون وعصفت بهم رياح I, 53
 الفطنة، فأوردتهم على بحار الحكمة،، فاستنبطوا³ صفو ماء
 الحياة لا يحذرون غائلة⁴، ولا يتوقعون⁵ نازلة، ولا
 يشرّهون⁶ إلى طلب بلوغ غاية، بل الغايات لهم بدايات،
 هم الذين ظهروا في باطن الخلق وبطنوا في ظاهريهم⁷،
 أمناء على وحيه حافظون لسرّه نافذون لأمره قائلون
 بحقه⁸ عاملون بطاعته، يسارعون⁹ في الخيرات وهم لها
 سابقون، جرت معاملتهم في مبادئ أمورهم بحسن الأدب
 فيما ألزمهم القيام به من حقوقه¹⁰ لم تبق¹¹ عندهم نصيحة إِلَّا
 بذلوها، ولا قرينة إِلَّا وصلوها،، سمحت نفوسهم ببذل¹²

C يتوقعون⁶ C —⁴ C فاستنبطوا³ C وتبرأوا² C وفن¹

C حقوقهم¹⁰ C ومسارعون⁹ C لحقه⁸ C ظواهرهم⁷ C يسرعون⁵ C بذل¹² C سعة¹¹ C وطبوعها¹²

المهج عند أول حق من حقوقه في طلب الوسيلة اليه
فبادرت¹ غير مُبْقِيَة ولا مُسْتَبْقِيَة بل نظرت الى أن الذي
عليها في حين بذلها أكثر ممّا لها بما² بذلت، لوائح
الحق اليها مشيرة، وعلوم الحق لديها غزيرة، لا توقّفهم
لائمة³ عند نازلة، ولا تثبّطهم رهبة عند فادحة، ولا⁴
تبعثهم رغبة عند أخذ أهبة⁵، حافظون لما⁶ است حفظوا
من كتاب الله⁷ وكانوا عليه شهداء أن عرج بهم⁸ اللجأ
عند القيام⁹ بواجب¹⁰ الى طلب الاستعانة لإتمام ما¹¹
قد رأوه¹²، لم¹³ تُبْخِشْهُمْ¹⁴ المناصحة الإصغاء الى محادثته¹⁵
ما بقيت¹⁶ منهم بقية حياة موجوده إشفافاً من دخول
الوهم مع وجود العلم بواجب الحقوق الى حقوقها، نزل¹⁷
التوقّف عن استقبال المبادرة في حين الأمر بالسعى ليكون
الفاعل عقيماً للأمر بلا فصل محدود يُعْلَمُ في غير صفة
الأمر به. وهذه | صفات أهل الموالاة¹⁸ من أهل المصافاة¹⁹
الدائم نظرهم الى ما يجري بهم القول ممّا ألزم حق

C با⁵ C احدى هبة⁴⁻⁴ I لا³ C له²⁻² C وبادرت¹
I قلده¹⁰⁻¹⁰ C — C — C لهم⁷ + C عز وجل⁶
C ترك¹⁵ C ثبت¹⁴ CI marg. محادثتهم¹³ C تبخشهم¹² C ولم¹¹
I الموالاة¹⁸

العبودية في الرهبانية التي¹ وقع الذم لمن التزمها ولم يقيم
 بواجب حقها بترك رعايتها، فسبقت نفوس المعاملين² بما لهم
 بعلمهم³ | فاحتجوا برؤية ما لهم بعلمهم عما لهم بعلم علمهم³ عما³ I, 54
 لهم بالإينعام⁴ عليهم بكشف علم علمهم⁵، فتكاثفت الحجب
 بالحجب⁶ عن كشف علوم الحجب⁶ فأقاموا تحت التغطية،
 وبعد الخروج من هذه الأماكن تبدو علوم كشف التغطية
 لَقَدْ كُنْتَ فِي غَفْلَةٍ مِنْ هَذَا فَكَشَفْنَا عَنْكَ غِطَاءَكَ
 فَبَصَرُكَ الْيَوْمَ حَدِيدٌ^(l, 21)، وقف على حدود الأشياء
 بكشف⁷ بارتها⁸ لها⁹ وما ألبسها من نور الصنعة وزهرة
 الإرادة بنفاذ¹⁰ القدرة على جمعها وتفريقها ومجاريها¹¹ وتحقيقها
 وَلَا يُوَدُّهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي
 الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ¹² (ii, 256).

I¹ علمهم⁶ C فالإنعام⁴ I¹ بعلمهم³ C المعاملين² I الذي¹
 I ومجاريها¹¹ I بنفاذ¹⁰ C بها⁹ C الآثار⁸ C تكشف⁷ C — C⁶⁻⁶
 + C تمت بعون الله تعالى وصلى الله على محمد النبي المكرم المطهر¹¹
 المفضل المرحوم وعلى اله وصحبه وعترته الاطهرين الطيبين الاخيار
 I + النجبا الابرار والحمد لله رب العالمين وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل

TRANSLATION

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Praise belongs to God, Who has made clear with manifest demonstration, to the people of gnosis and revelation, what special favours He bestowed upon them, in pre-eternal eternity, before "before" came into being, when there was neither "when" nor "where" nor "how" nor "there", and when there was neither "not-when" nor "not-where" nor "not-how" nor "not-there",¹ by making them worthy of His unification, and the separation of His isolation, who had passed away from the pretence of attaining His limitation.² For they were chosen for Himself, and made under His eye, and on them He cast a love from Him and of Him: "and I chose thee for Myself"³ and "that thou mayst be made under My eye",⁴ "and I cast on thee a love from Myself".⁵

Now one of the qualities of those whom God has fashioned for Himself, making them under His eye, and casting on them His love from Himself and of Himself, is this: that their knowledge stays not fixed⁶ in one place, nor does their intellect accord with a fixation of a certain intelligence, nor is their resolve directed towards the accomplishment of a single purpose. These are they who are transported by gnosis whither knowledge never transported them—to an infinite aim. Intellects would shrink, minds perish, gnosis be constricted, times pass away, bewilderment would wander in bewilderment, at the description of the first step taken

¹ Such descriptions of the indescribable nature of God are common-places in Šūfī literature; see the well-known definition of Ḥallāj quoted (anonymously) in Kalābādī, *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf*, p. 13.

² Sc. of setting bounds to the illimitable nature of God.

³ Q. xx, 43. This and the following quotations in their context refer to Moses; here they are given a universal application.

⁴ Q. xx, 40.

⁵ Q. xx, 39.

⁶ Literally, "they have no foot (cf. Q. x, 2) of a knowledge . . ." The meaning of this and the following phrase is, that the mystics pass on continuously from revelation to revelation, so that their minds are in a state of flux.

to accord with the quality of a locus for a love,¹ because of the various degrees of knowledge, appointed by God for them through Himself and of Himself, which continued passing over them. For ah ! that, which is His, is His through Him being with Him² : “ whither then will ye depart ? ”³ Hast thou not heard of the knowledge of His folding up what He Himself displayed, and His revealing what He Himself concealed ?⁴ Of how He chose whom He chose to receive the secret of His revelation ? “ He revealed unto His servant what He revealed ; the heart belied not what he saw ”⁵ “ at the highest horizon ”.⁶ He testified to him that he was His servant alone ; therefore God did not use him jealously, because of any secret yearning for a desire, or a covert gratification of a lust, or a commerce with a glance, or traffick with a thought⁷ : he did not stake a claim by utterance,⁸ nor outstrip the just claimants by a spoken word, neither did he for a single instant consider any personal advantage. “ He revealed unto him ” then “ what He revealed ”—He made his intellect ready for that which He bestowed on him when He took him to Himself, and chose him for a certain matter, laying on him “ what burden he has to bear ”,⁹ and he bore it. “ He revealed unto him ” then “ what He revealed—at the highest horizon ” : for space was too narrow, and created things shrank, before suffering

¹ Sc. the heart of man, which is the locus of God's love.

² The knowledge that sweeps over the mystic is not of himself, but of God, and never leaves Him.

³ Q. lxxxi, 28 : man cannot escape from God.

⁴ “ Folding up what He displayed ” is man's non-existence from the time of the creative *kun* until his birth in time ; “ revealing what He concealed ” is the knowledge of God, which was taken from man when he was disobedient.

⁵ Q. liii, 10–11. This passage is usually taken by the commentators to refer to a vision of Gabriel ; it seems that Junayd interprets it as a vision of God Himself.

⁶ Q. liii, 8.

⁷ Sc. of other than God.

⁸ By speaking before God spoke to him, as if eager to claim Him.

⁹ Q. xxiv, 53 ; the burden of Prophethood.

the revelation that was made to him to pass through them or over them, save "at the highest horizon",¹ "when there covered the lote-tree what did cover it"²—a glance from the majesty of His glance, which has no object of glance, falling upon the lote-tree, when there covered it what did cover it, and it withstood that which did cover it.³

Consider also the mountain, when "He revealed Himself" to it; "He made it dust, and Moses fell swooning, and when he recovered, he said, Glory be to Thee! I have turned unto Thee"⁴—that is, I return to ask of Thee the vision: after experiencing this station,⁵ in spite of knowing how enormous his petition was, and despite the fact that, had knowledge met with reality in the time of asking, words would not have been permissible or appropriate.⁶ Now in this station there is a knowledge which may not be inscribed, and which it is not appropriate to put in writing.⁷

Consider also how God relates concerning His Beloved:⁸ "and he saw him yet another time, at the lote-tree of the utmost boundary."⁹ The word "at" here does not imply place: it only implies the moment of revealing the knowledge of the "moment".¹⁰ Consider then the excellence of the two moments, and the variety of the two places, and how the two stations differed, the one being on high, and the other below.¹¹ So excel the intellects of the gnostics who

¹ For there only God could make revelation in space, as explained later.

² Q. liii, 16.

³ The heavenly tree was able to withstand God's glance, which otherwise destroys all upon which it falls.

⁴ Q. vii, 139-140. This is the story of Moses, who asked God to let him see Him: the mountain turned to dust before the vision of God (not being preserved, as was the lote-tree).

⁵ Speaking of it as a mystical experience.

⁶ For the experience of God is ineffable.

⁷ So the Šūfis ever draw back from writing of their highest experiences.

⁸ Sc. Muḥammad.

⁹ Q. liii, 13: this is usually taken to refer to the *mī'rāj*.

¹⁰ In the mystical sense of the word.

¹¹ The two "revelations" described in Q. liii: the first "two bows' length off or nearer still", an earthly visitation, the second "at the lote-tree", in highest heaven.

believe. Some of them can utter intimate converse, being aware how near He is Who converses with them and draws them unto Him: whether they be on high or below, the knowledge of the fact does not veil them.¹ Others are not able to do this: with them God makes secondary causes² a means to understanding, so that through these they are able to understand when God addresses them, and answer Him. Do not pause at God's saying, "and no man is permitted that God may speak with him, save it be by revelation, or from behind a veil, or that He sendeth a messenger, to reveal by His leave what He wills."³ These are matters⁴ too vast for narrow knowledge to comprehend, except a man consult with those who enjoy neighbourhood,⁵ or occupy himself with the knowledge of the winding ways that lead to the sciences of the elect,⁶ who are solitary even from their solitudes, and are free of all their desires. For a barrier has been set between them and the objects of their lusts: swept along by the winds of understanding, they were brought down to the seas of wisdom, whence they drew the pure water of life. They fear no mischief thereof, no visitation they expect, neither are they avid to seek the attainment of any end: nay rather, ends are for them beginnings.⁷ What in other men is hidden, in that they are manifest, and they are hidden in that in which other men are manifest.⁸ They are the trustees of God's revelation, the preservers of His secret, performing His command, speaking of His truth, acting in obedience to Him. They vie with one another in good works, hastening beforehand to perform them: in the

¹ Permitting converse with God, a feature of much Ṣūfī experience, as the *Mawāqif* of Niffārī exemplify.

² Sc. phenomena, the "natural" mysticism.

³ Q. xlii, 50.

⁴ Literally, "places."

⁵ Sc. with God.

⁶ Sc. the Ṣūfīs.

⁷ Since they rest not in any goal, but take each achievement as a starting-point for higher things.

⁸ Their souls are as other men's bodies, for by and for them they live.

very beginning of their course they preserved excellent manners in their dealings,¹ whatever might be the due which they were required to pay to God. No wise counsel is there, which they have not put into practice, no means to winning God's favour, which they have not employed. Their souls liberally gave all their strength in paying His first due, seeking to come to Him, zealous, leaving nothing, and reserving nothing: rather, they considered that what they owed, at the time of their payment, was greater far than all that their payment had of merit. God's manifest signs² to them point, and the sciences³ of God in them abound. No reproach gives them pause at any visitation, no fear hinders them at any calamity, no covetousness incites them in making any preparation.⁴ They preserve God's Book which was entrusted to them, and to it bear witness, for when they perform any duty, they do not turn from seeking refuge in turning to ask God's help, to complete what they set out to do. Their counselling others does not diminish their listening to God addressing them,⁵ so long as there remains in them any vestige of the life that is in Him: for they fear lest, knowing what they are required to do for God, they may suffer some vain conceit to enter into the performance of their dues.⁶ Therefore they do not hesitate to run forth eagerly whenever the command comes, that act may follow command, without sharp, appreciable division, such as would not be of the nature of the command.

These are the qualities of the elect of God, His beloved friends, whose eye is ever fixed on the saying, which has

¹ They observed *adab* in their behaviour towards God.

² Sc. created things, the guides to natural religion.

³ The intellectual guides to God's religion.

⁴ Whatever they suffer or undertake, they do it for God alone, with no other motive.

⁵ The variant reading would mean "others addressing them", which less appropriate to the context.

⁶ They continue to listen to God, and are not puffed up by their position as counsellors of others, into imagining that what they do is by their own power.

application to them, impressing the duty of servanthood in true discipline—a discipline which is only condemned¹ in the case of those who undertake it, without performing their obligations under it, failing to practise it.

The souls of practitioners take hastily the knowledge² they have, and are veiled by the thought of that knowledge so that they do not know what the knowledge of that knowledge means to them or what God's favour means in revealing to them the knowledge of what that knowledge is.³ So veil thickens upon veil, hiding the revelation of the sciences of the veils,⁴ and they remain beneath their covering. Then, when they have emerged from these conditions,⁵ there appear to them the sciences of the unveiling of the covering. "Thou wast in heedlessness of this, and we uncovered thy covering, and thy sight to-day is keen"⁶—such a man understands the limits⁷ of things, for the Creator uncovers them, and reveals the light of creation in which He clothed them, and the beauty of will, which was manifested in His pervading power, concentrating them and separating them, giving them movement⁸ and reality. "It tires Him not to keep them both,⁹ for He is High, Mighty. No constraint is there in the faith: guidance has become clear from error."¹⁰

¹ As in the well-known Tradition, "no monkery (*rahbānīyah*) in Islam" which Junayd thus explains.

² Religious theory—the law, and its ramifications in religious practice.

³ That is, knowing what God's purpose was in proscribing certain duties to man. This passage is obscure, and perhaps the reading of I¹ is correct.

⁴ This is the true purpose of Ṣūfī discipline.

⁵ Literally, "places."

⁶ Q. i, 21.

⁷ A play on words—*ḥadīd* and *ḥudūd*.

⁸ Literally, "their courses."

⁹ In the context, heaven and earth.

¹⁰ Q. ii, 256. The foregoing translation is of necessity somewhat tentative, and I should welcome any suggestions for emendation or clarification.